/121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

/123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

128
[197]
(615)

/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

104
*601

Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

f	=	father	ol	=	older
m	=	mother	yg	=	younger
so	=	son	si	=	sibling
da	=	daughter	-o-	=	of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./
br	=	brother	(M)	=	male Ego
sis	=	sister	(F)	=	female Ego
sp	=	spouse	(V)	=	vocative
			(R)	=	reference

*601

Kinship Terms

f	Pajkẽ	(M-F)	(V)
f	Yeé Pajkẽ	(M-F)	(R)
m	Maú	(M-F)	(V)
m	Yeé Pajkó	(M-F)	(R)
so	Majkẽ	(M-F)	(V)
so	Yeé Majkẽ	(M-F)	(R)
da	Majkó	(M-F)	(V)
da	Yeé Majkó	(M-F)	(R)
ol-br	Mamĩ	(M-F)	(V)
ol-br	Yeé Mamĩ	(M-F)	(R)
yg-br	Nijiá	(M-F)	(V)
yg-br	Yeé Kabĩ	(M-F)	(R)
ol-sis	Mamió	(M-F)	(V)
ol-sis	Yeé Mamió	(M-F)	(R)
yg-sis	Numió	(M-F)	(V)
yg-sis	Yeé Kabió	(M-F)	(R)
f-br	Mẽ	(M)	(V)

*601 /145 cont./

According to Kinship -- Cross cousins and parallel cousins are distinguished. No distinction is made between real brothers and parallel cousins. In the second ascending generation, the relationship is not differentiated between grandfathers and grandmothers, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father or Ego, who is designated with an isolating term. In the second descending generation, the relationship that Ego might have with his grandsons and granddaughters is not differentiated, be they real or classificatory. There are new kinship terms to designate relatives who do not follow the canon of marriage between cross cousins with the interchange of brother with sister.

/146/ According to the state of life -- There is no distinct term to designate a relative according to the state of life of the person who connects or relates by marriage this relative with Ego. Nor are different terms used to designate deceased relatives. To express the state of death of a relative, the terms Mijĺ (dead - masculine gender) and Mejeó (dead - feminine gender) are added to the kinship terms with which the relatives were denominated in reference (R) while they lived. Thus, for example, Yeé Mamĺ Mijĺ (my dead older brother), Páre Majkó Mejeó (the dead daughter of my brother), etc.

•615

PHRATRIES AND SIBS

Five phratries are found among the Tukanos:

1) Yepá Bajuári Majsá.
2) Miriápura Diára Majsá.
[614] 3) Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.
4) Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
5) Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Each one of these phratries is divided into an extensive number of sibs.

/146 cont./

615
614
[361]
[197]

614
128

YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

(1) Yúpuri Baúro	(B)	(1)	(2) Yepára Oakajpeá	(+)	(2)
(3) Yepára Oyé	(B)		(4) Yepára Suí	(C)	(3)

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

/147/

614

(5) Bejsémi Kuiseré	(C)		(6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro	(B)	
(7) Suí Makúpi	(C)		(8) Ajkíto Ñetedejká	(C)	
(9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá	(+)		(10) Yúpuri Pamó	(B)	
(11) Yepára Merú	(C)		(12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí	(C)	
(13) Sérvi Bojsé	(C)		(14) Doétiro Mimisipé	(C)	
(15) Ajkíto Patíro	(C)		(16) Kemáru Kukú	(C)	
(17) Urémiri Sióropo Bayá	(B)		(18) Urémiri Sáraro	(C)	
(19) Parisí	(B)		(20) Yúpuri Búbera	(B)	
(21) Ajúsiro Merí	(B)		(22) Najóri Dipé	(B)	
(23) Yáitoro	(C)		(24) Urémiri Sakuró	(C)	
(25) Buú Púra	(B)		(26) Suí Amoperí	(B)	
(27) Ajúsiro Túro	(B)		(28) Arú Perí	(B)	

/149 cont./

*601 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mekê.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Menguê. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Menguê.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Mekê, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajkê-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

/150/

MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 [615] [361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

* 539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

[756]
[574]

32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

• [615]
[614]

35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry,

*539
[615]
[614]

/368 cont./

Yepára Oakajpeá forms the sib immediately inferior to that of Yúpuri Baúro.

Oakajpeá had to bear it. All the Mamí could strike their Nijiá (36) this way, and the Nijiá had to bear it. But since the

36. The older brothers could strike their younger brothers.

whites arrived at the Vaupés, the Tukano have become disrespectful.

As soon as she felt the blow on her body, the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Diawí to receive Yepá Uejkeó. And as soon as the woman of Yúpuri Baúro arrived at the port of Diawí, Yepá Uejkeó, accompanied by three more women called Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá, came upstream.

When Yepá Huáke had gone down to Diawí to speak with Yúpuri Baúro, Yepá Huáke had burned, as if by a miracle, a garden behind Diawí.

Yepá Uejkeó and Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá arrived at the port of Diawí. The woman of Yúpuri Baúro received them very politely. Each of the four women brought a stalk of manioc, only they did not give the stalks of manioc to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro, but rather they went to the garden that Yepá Huáke had burned. They went around the maloca of Diawí so that the Pamúri Majsá would not see them. When they arrived at the garden, Yepá Uejkeó stood amidst the Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá and told the woman of Yúpuri Baúro to stand back a bit and to give great care and attention to what they were going to do. The stalk of the manioc seed that Yepá Uejkeó held was called Mejká Diáran Dejké. Then Yepá Uejkeó said, throwing her stalk of manioc: "You go here, in the middle, Mejká Diáran Dejké." Then one of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying: "Batiá Dejké, you go on the right side." Then another of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying:

601 /151 cont./
614

(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

614
[615]
[361]
[197]

ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé — Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

601
614

Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

614
[615]
[361]
[197]

/152 cont./

MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

/153/

(1) Bejkári	(C)	(2) Mijpiágue	(C)
(3) Mijpiá Diára	(C)	(4) Majkápiro Púra	(C)
(5) Borékearo	(C)	(6) Petároague	(C)
(7) Majároague	(C)		

*601
614

Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

*601 /153 cont./
614

(7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

/154/

614
•[615]
[361]
[197]

EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Utíwiague	(C)	(2) Socóro Páramero	(C)
(3) Biá Déroague	(C)	(4) Purí Máriroague	(C)
(5) Aúwuewague	(C)	(6) Uejsári Téroague	(C)

*601
614

Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

*601
614

/154 cont./

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mé.
(2) Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Meké.
(3) The son of Utíwiague denominates the son of Aúwuewague: Nijiá, since Utíwiague calls Aúwuewague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Mamí, since Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mamí.
(5) Utíwiague denominates the daughter of Aúwuewague: Majkó. Aúwuewague calls the daughter of Utíwiague: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mengué. The daughter of Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Utíwiague call the sister of Aúwuewague: Uaméu. The sons of Aúwuewague denominate the sister of Utíwiague: Uaméu.
/155/(8) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates Utíwiague: Meké, since the father of Utíwiague and the son of Uejsári Téroague are siblings.
(9) Utíwiague denominates the son of Uejsári Téroague: Mé.
(10) The son of Utíwiague calls the son of Uejsári Téroague: Pajké-Ró.
(11) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Yeé Párame.

*601
614
•615

KINSHIP TERMS USED AMONG THE COMPONENT SIBS OF THE FIVE PHRATRIES THAT FORM THE YEPA MAJSA TRIBE

Kinship terms used between the phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
Yepára Oakajpeá
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from Mumiá Pajkáre to Séra Majsé

601
614
615

/155 cont./
Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé

/156/
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Yajuána

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Yajuána

*601
614
•615

/156 cont./

Kinship Terms Used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

/157/

LIST "B"
Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uamúta Dáyaroague

* 601
614
• 615

/157 cont./
Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá	Miriápura Bajuári Majsá
LIST "A"	
Yúpuri Baúro to Yepára Oyé denominate with the term Nijiá from	Bejkári to Petároague
Yepára Suí to Bujpuá Púra denominate with the term Mamí	Bejkári and Mijpiágue
Yepára Suí to Bujpuá Púra denominate with the term Nijiá from	Mijpiá Diára to Petároague
/158/ Yúpuri Baúro to Bujpuá Púra denominate with the term Pajké-Ró	Majároague

*601 /158 cont./
614
•615

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

*601
614
615

/158 cont./

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

/159/

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

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/159 cont./

Yajuána

denominates with the term Nijiá

Uamúta Dáyaroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

/160/

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári

Duriá Dayágue
to
Paréroa
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiágue
to
Petároague

Erurla
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Mijpiágue
and
Mijpiá Diára

*

601 /160 cont./
614 Eruria
to
615 Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

/161/
Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.
Miriápura Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

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614
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/161 cont./
Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá Miriápura Bajuári Majsá
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñáragué
denominate with the term Mamí from
/162/

Bejkári
to
Mijpiá Diára

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñáragué
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñáragué
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

601
614
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/162 cont./

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñáragué
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñáragué
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

/163/

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá
Bejkári
to
Petároague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
to
615 Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

614 Uejsári Téroague

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

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Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

113

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchoff (1931), using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kin-groups that favored patrilocal residence.

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkuna* sibs of the Cubeo acknowledged Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkuna* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period.

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a subculture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

pamiwa or a *pañuwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwũ*, *iinhiwũ*, or *kwindnokauwũ*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwũ* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe." There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship; no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to distinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, relative ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other sibs (Fulop, 1955).

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The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the beginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup. Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever active process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of separation." Within a common residence site most families live in a long house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses "Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain somewhat outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

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Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very considerable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous. A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib 614 are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group 592 of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important 594 unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization 61 that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component 621 segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

THE COMMUNITY

621 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous 182 entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiarí the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality.

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations.

A residence site is commonly called *kuá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taíbo* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobónu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabú* (food place).

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone.

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

342 The headman is [592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architectural features [622] contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 614 [615] A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration, will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the 342 614 621 554 [592] social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledgment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas housing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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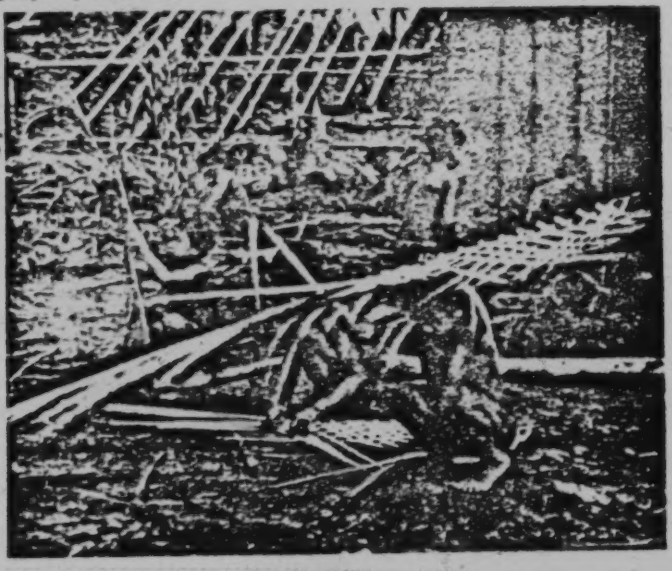

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahükiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness.

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels.

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehéneva* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari.

PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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The Sib

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[615] The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot establish an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, normally localized, exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal. They are bound into unnamed exogamic phratries within which they occupy an order of rank that expresses the sequence in which they emerged during their mythical first emergence. Sib members claim descent from the male of an ancestral brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in some cases is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name of an Ancient, that is, an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called *Bekôpwãnwa* (the Ancients). The sib is the center of the social structure, the focus and regulator of all main social, religious, and economic activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has a headman. A person's identification is only by sib. The strongest feeling that the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which the males show the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who live permanently together. The women never lose their sib identity, and when a married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or with a husband in tow, she may take up a position in the sib that is sociologically equivalent to that of a male head of household. She takes her place in the informal council of household heads and takes her turn in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[622]

[114] Since my study of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based on information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aúnbwawü* were, respectively, *Órobakü* and *Aúnkü*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehénewa* was *Dpurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkü* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakü* a leading *Hehénewa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapwänwa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehénewa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *kü* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

Without a proper sib name, a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[5] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinâwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte ainkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[5] The text of the *Bahúkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

615 614 them. Either version accounts for sib hierarchy. In the first version the Cubeo visualize the phratry as the body of the anaconda spread along a river with its head anchored at the site of emergence and its tail lying upstream to form the lowest-ranking sib. In the second version the sib pairs moved upstream and located themselves according to the sequence of their emergence. The theme of common descent that sanctions exogamy and confraternity is conveyed not by a common anaconda ancestor, for the Cubeo would not doubt that all human beings were descended from anacondas, but rather by common emergence from the same site. All sibs of the same phratry should ideally have emerged from the same rapids. But even among those having emerged from the same rapids there are still distinctions of relative closeness depending upon whether they emerged from the same hole or from adjacent holes. It would seem that the origin myth must be in harmony with current social relationships and that a particular version is employed depending upon the present state of affairs. When a sib is newly admitted into the phratry it must adapt its own origin traditions to the common mythical theme of emergence in the form of an anaconda at a preferred emergence site.

614 From the *Bahúkiwa* I heard at least three versions of the story that placed the *Hehénewa* within the phratry. One said that the *Hehénewa* were really strangers, having emerged somewhere along the Papurý River. They heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets, and attracted by the music – a sign of identity – they came

532

Fig. 4. Petroglyph: *Kúwai* and *Áinkũ* (scale: 1" = 6').

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship álliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did
[611] not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*. And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwanuwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was suc-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwanuwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[6] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, *Hehénewa*, *W'athariwa*, *Byá-W'athariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavíbebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[6] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

615 614 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 614 554 [301] The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hierarchical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of [177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that [721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiarí.

614 [613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to [867] establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines.

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small.

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speaking the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the *Bahükiwa* view of sib rank.

PHRATRY I

Órobawa The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my information, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

Aúnbawakü The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1930 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

614
615
554
361
[114]

at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists.

Hehénewa In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impémäni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobewa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobewa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapurí. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbuawü*.

Byá-Hehénewa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

Wathariwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbuawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacuréwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapurí falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Wathariwa A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

Urérariwa Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapurí falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Burü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

[563]
[648]
[186]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

614
615
554
361

is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahûkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

Bahûküdjauwü A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahûkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahûkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapés*.

Bahuknonówa A subsib of the *Bahûküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

Bahûkübuauwü A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose emergence site was the Querarí *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahûkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

[648] [563] [551]

Pedíkwa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahûkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Anient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedí-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pedíwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátohaño*.

Kenánikauwü A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramirí* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

Kenámbuawa A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

Utciwaiwa Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahûkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miritî *igarapés* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapés*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Baryáwatiwaiwa A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

Piarówa A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miritî *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

[551]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piarãwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí.

Pyéndo-Hehénewa A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, the main maloca being at Querarí *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yuruparí *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

Hwáni-Hehénewa A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapurí *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

Aúnwewa A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry.

Kompainyewa Closely linked with the *Piarãwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yuruparí falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapurí.

Abúxo-Hehénewa A sib on the upper Querarí mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

Ambumamára A sib on the Cuduiarí mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

Byarí-Hehénewa An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiarí as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byarídowa*.

Papuli-Hehénewa A sib living on the Cuduiarí during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

Kenámbwawa A sib on the upper Cuduiarí, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavímanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piarãwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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PHRATRY II

Buroíbowa The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoríbo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

Byówa A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

Hürüwá Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

Wadjá-Hürüwá A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

Korówa Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians). [101]

Waláola A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

Mianáwa A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés – *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yuruparí falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

Djurémawa Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa). [101]

Tóriawü A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

Konéntaraboiwü According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolátalapoauo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO
MACU SQ10

same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowéiarabawũ* on the Querarí.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokókũbewũ A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batóua Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapé*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ilhéadowa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *parana* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí.

Káua A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects.

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category.

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if
● [615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters
[582] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kũ*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkũ*, *-ko* and *hipanimekũ*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkũ* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekũ* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the
[593] Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
[584] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákũ-makũ* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children
[615] consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The ceremonial
friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikü* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikü* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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Marriage

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 597 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwd*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwd* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwd* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwd* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

754 694 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle [756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man [624] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

WARFARE (*bwaino*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one [615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex- [614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahúkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for [614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a [648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war [114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert. [723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first ● [615] mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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The Drinking Party

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614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine definitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[554]

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

765 614 [615] [754] [535]

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

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As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

[182] [614] [615]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóküʉ* of the dead is *Mawítikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Orobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hebénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

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615 With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy. 571 614 615

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments. 571 [572] [615] [614]

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself. 571 615

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- 571 614 [615]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementarity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
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152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
● [615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all
[428] other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
● 615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 [583] {616} [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.

571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of